SOME NEW BOOKS.

An English Clergyman's Impressions of the United States.

Dr. S. Reynolds Hole, Dean of Rochester, is more or less known to American readers by his collection of reminiscences which saw the light some time ago. He has now set forth his observations during a short visit to this country in a book published by EDWARD ARNOLD and called *A Little Tour in America*. The dean delivered a course of lectures in some of our principal cities with the hope of securing a sufficient sum of money for the restoration of Rochester Cathedral. In this aim he seems to have been measurably successful, as we learn that he took home with him a surplus of £500 after the defrayal of his expenses. His comments on what he saw are usually intelligent, and they are always modest and good natured. He had some conception of the preparation which an English tourist ought to make, both in respect of reading and of mental attitude. He remarks that a wise man before he visits America will read a trustworthy history of the country, such as Bryce's "American Commonwealth" or Goldwin Smith's smaller book on the same subject. He will also study a good modern map, and try to obtain letters of introduction to citizens of distinction. He adds: "One more preparation remains for those who propose to visit the United States, the preparation of the mind itself, the elimination of prejudices, theories, verdicts pronounced without evidence, mere sentiments, opinions formed from circumstances which no longer exist. * * * There cannot be a more disastrous mistake, the joint offspring of self-conceit and ignorance, than to frame from hearsay, or from a brief and partial acquaintance, dogmatical convictions laws unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians." Elsewhere, to much the same effect, we read: "We must go as disciples, and not as teachers. Jonathan will only make fun of the stranger who lectures him, as though he were *in statu pupillari*. He will fool him to the top of his bent. He will seem to be profoundly impressed, to drink with parched lips into his thirsty soul these showers of blessings, and when he has exhausted such enjoyment as may be got from a galloping donkey, he will despise and forget him." All this is true enough, and so is the following: "It will be good for the English traveller to visit a nation which, in the prevision of the seer and the prescience of the thoughtful, will be hereafter, from its wonderful intelligence and wealth, from the fertility of its soil and the treasures beneath it, from the unbroken continuity of its possessions, from the identity of its language, and, above all, from that righteousness for which men hope and pray, because that only exalteth a nation, a queen among the peoples. It can be said no longer that England holds the balance of power, or a supreme priority in commerce; and, if it should be her destiny to recede, and her fate be the common lot of all great empires, what greater consolation can she have than the knowledge that the heir apparent is bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh?" It would, perhaps, be a matter of regret, if it were of much consequence, that more Englishmen do not share the feeling which prompts Dr. Hole to say: "As the eyes of some fair mother glint and her cheeks glow as she marks the homage of admiration which is paid to her daughter's charms, and '*O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*' is whispered wherever she goes, so may John Bull aver that, 'Jonathan was an audacious child, and cut himself free with his long bowie knife from his mother's apron strings, and made himself generally unpleasant, but he is going to be a first-class man. He was a cantankerous colt, rearing and jibbing, and kicking himself clear of his harness, but he has grown into a grand horse. If ever I have to climb down and take a back seat, Jonathan is the man for the box.'"

I.

Naturally some of the first notes jotted down by this English traveller relate to our hotels. He observes that "the hotels in New York and in the larger cities are very superior, excepting the small cluster of splendid inns which have been recently built in London, and their provincial satellites, to our own; on a larger scale and of a more costly material, marble being largely used, and the charming varieties of American wood, elaborately carved." The food is pronounced excellent in quality, abundant in variety, and well cooked. The Britisher, however, "does not at once understand the glass goblet of water and ice which invariably accompanies his breakfast, luncheon, and dinner; yet the dryer climate and the warmer rooms not only expel his aversion, but tempt him to excess." It is recognized that "the beef, corn-fed, is as good as our own," but then follows a remark which involves two mistakes, namely, "the mutton, which rarely appears on the menu, is quite inferior." It is also erroneous to say that "the fish is not so good as on our side the Atlantic." We are afraid that the terrapin given to Dean Hole were not diamond backs, but red bellies or yellow bellies, for he protests that he "liked none of them, and endorsed the verdict of an illustrious visitor from Rome, though condemning the ungrateful rudeness of his words, when, in speaking of this viand to a friend, he said: 'They are always giving me *that disgoosting hash*.'" With another lamentation we have more sympathy, for it is founded on the fact that Americans, "though the sharpest people, use the dullest knives in the world. Babies and lunatics might be safely allowed to play with them." Passing from solids to fluids, our author points out that a stranger who deduced his views of American customs from hotels and restaurants might infer that "Jonathan had changed his name into Jonadab, and had been brought up as Mr. Richard Swiveller said, with a tone of sad compassion, of the Marchioness, 'in ignorance of the taste of beer,' but the illusion is dispelled by the first dinner party in private, where he finds, as in his own country, the wine that gladdeneth the heart of man, and by the numerous saloons and bars, of which it was said by the only comic teetotaller I ever met, "There the wild asses quench their thirst.'"

In a chapter devoted to New York, the compiler of these impressions feels called upon to say something about money-getting, for the reason that he had "heard some of my compatriots affirm of the Americans that their one object of reverence was an idol of gold, and again, that, after the manner of the Ephesians, they fell down and worshipped at silver shrines." The result of his own observations was: "Beyond the fact—which I am bound to admit, having visited the chief marts of commerce in both countries, boards of trade in America and exchanges in England—that Jonathan makes more noise than John over his business; 'gives tongue' more freely, as a huntsman would say, in his chase; I see no difference between the nations in their high estimate of the precious metals or in their methods of appropriation." Dean Hole goes further, and is "inclined to think that in proportion to our numbers we have more knaves and rogues in England, than they have in the States, because we have more dupes and fools; more foxes because we have more geese. I do not mean that we are less honest, but we have more young men who, inheriting instead of earning money, do not know its value, and according to the adage, are soon persuaded to transfer it."

II.

In a chapter on education the author mentions three special cases in which a visitor to New York might be deceived by hasty and partial observations. One of these we have already named, to wit: The liability to draw the inference from the relative absence of intoxicating liquors at the luncheons and dinners in the hotels and restaurants that there exists among us a widespread dislike and disuse of alcohol. The other two occasions for mistaken deduction are the following: "One might suppose from the absence of military costumes (I do not remember to have seen a soldier in uniform while I was in the States) that the Americans knew nothing of war; and one might hope when he saw, to the honor of the great city of New York, no courtesans in the streets, that there was an immunity from sexual vice. But he must be convinced too sadly and too soon that no nation, unless it be France, has suffered so much in modern times from the horrors of war as America, and, though she now possesses but a diminutive army in proportion to her dominions, 'it is capable,'" as the author once heard an American say, with the suspicion of a smile upon his face, "'it is capable of enlargement.'" He is also compelled by facts to bewail that "the depraved, if they do not meet with temptation, will go in search of it until they find it." Apropos of the attempt to make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, it appears that Dean Hole, while in a Western city, was asked: "Did I approve of the raid which had been made only a few nights ago upon the houses of ill fame at Buffalo? Should I advise a repetition at Detroit?" The Englishman clergyman replied that "though the motive and intention had my hearty sympathy, I had no confidence in the method or result. By this sudden and cruel process of dragging women from their homes what victories are won for virtue? Is it not rather that, in scattering the vicious, men are diffusing vice; dismissing the inmates of an hospital for infectious disease, so to speak, instead of making new efforts to prevent and cure it? To those who seek rather to destroy than to save, the reproof is written, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of.' They are wanting in tenderness as well as in discretion; there is something wrong both with the heart and in the head; they need patient continuance in well doing as well as indignant zeal; love for the sinner as well as hatred for the sin." To such headlong reformers the query in our author's opinion should be put: "Before trying such extreme severity, what has been done as to the reclamation and rescue work? What if Mary of Magdala had been driven out of Jerusalem? Are these women whom we Christians call our sisters, to be expelled with no shelter but a prison, while they who betrayed them and still bribe them are free from hinderance and rebuke?"

The author of these notes of travel, who is a man 6 feet 4 inches in height and stout in proportion, went through an ordeal of much mental and physical perturbation in the course of his nocturnal journeys by rail. "I shall never forget," he tells us, "the first night which I spent in a sleeping car. By ingenious adaptation and addition the seats used by day are converted at night into an upper and lower cubicle not unsuitable for those of moderate dimensions, but oppressively limited for a bulky giant weighing over sixteen stone. Cabined, cribbed, confined, I felt, as I drew my curtain, about as happy as a seagull in a canary cage. More miserable, in fact, because a seagull has no gaiters with twelve buttons for each leg to put on or off; no small property, moneys, letters, keys, watch, to transfer from his pockets, he knows not whither; no devotions to be said kneeling. I became involved, entangled, confused, oppressed; and when I was at last in a position to rest from my exhaustion, I found it impossible to assume the usual attitude of slumber, and I thought reverently, but ruefully, of Isaiah's words, 'For the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the cover narrower than that he can warm himself in.'" It appears that the morning investment proved quite as incommodious as the unrobing at eve, and that whenever, to expedite operations, the ecclesiastical tourist ventured to put out a leg, some pedestrian rushed by, thrusting it aside and grunting his displeasure.

It is, on the other hand, acknowledged that the engines and trains on American railways are much larger, more massive in construction, and run more smoothly. "The compartments for passengers are much higher and longer than ours, elaborately ornamented with carving and gilding, and lighted by electricity. The parlor cars are furnished with luxurious revolving chairs. Venders of newspapers, magazines, books, candies, and chocolates pass at intervals through the train, but are not importunate, sometimes leaving a few volumes for inspection, and collecting them without comment." Reference is made to the "laudable custom of announcing the name of a station on arrival, and shortly afterward of that next on the line." It is further recognized that "the railway servants have been much maligned as morose and disobliging. They may not be quite so pleasantly attentive as some of our English guards, but they reciprocate kindly approaches and the respect which is due to men on duty, and I had pleasant converse with them."

III.

In a chapter on the Federal Capital the author prints an interesting letter penned on July 27, 1761, by George Augustus Washington (the middle name was subsequently dropped) to Andrew Burnaby, Archdeacon of Leicester. In the course of this letter occur the words: "I deal little in politics; think of taking a trip to England." Dean Hole is quite right in thinking that, of all the tributes of praise and gratitude paid to Washington by his own countrymen, that of Jefferson is the best, as being at once discriminative and based on thorough knowledge. He quotes a memorable passage, and it cannot be quoted too often, for, while Jefferson does not hesitate to speak of Washington as "slow in action, though irritable in temper, sometimes tremendous in his wrath, in conversation not above mediocrity, and, if called upon for sudden opinion, unready and embarrassed," he declares him to have been "incapable of fear, inflexible in justice, in every sense of the word a wise, a good, and a great man; warm in his affections, handsome in his appearance, graceful in his manner, the best horseman of his age; and it may be truly said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great. It was his singular destiny and merit to lead the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war to the establishment of its independence, and to conduct its councils through the birth of a Government, until it had settled down to order and peace."

As to politics, the author tells us that he failed signally while in Washington to grasp the divergent opinions which separate the Democrats from the Republicans, and there is no doubt that the information which he received on this subject was not only, as he describes it, meagre, but also misleading. He says that "the chief differences seemed to be that, after the Revolution the Democrats were very zealous for State rights and independence, while the Republicans were more anxious for the unity and honor of the nation." The fact, of course, is that, during the first thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution, the terms Democrat and Republican were applied interchangeably to one and the same political party, to wit: the Jeffersonian, whereas the party of centralization was the Federalist. Some of his interlocutors should have told Dean Hole that the Republicans of the present day, who have inherited the Federalist traditions, were not organized until the sixth decade of this century. One wonders who were the "competent and willing gentlemen who discoursed to him upon this subject." Where, on the other hand, the author relied upon his eyes, they reported correctly enough. Thus, he says, truly, that, "compared with New York or Chicago, Washington, though it is full of animation and energy, is a city of rest and peace. The inhabitants do not rush onward as though they were late for the train or the post, or as though, the dinner hour being passed, they were anxious to appease an irritable wife, who was waiting at home for her food. The ear is not deafened by the clanging of bells, the rolling of cars, and the tramping of feet that never seem to pause. It was a busy day in December on which we arrived, the first day of the meeting of Congress after vacation, and we had come from the tranquillities of a village in Virginia. But, though there was a great gathering of Representatives, there was no commotion or din." It is likewise jotted down as noteworthy that, in Washington's population of 230,000, there are only 18,000 persons foreign born, a very small proportion compared with that exhibited in other great American cities. The author also recognized that, in our Congress, as in the British House of Commons, the national characteristics are displayed in a variety of types and phases. He is good enough to express the belief that "of course, the Representatives are, as a rule, of a high class as to culture and deportment," but he opines that "exceptions may be introduced from distant States, and these, with their wives and daughters may require in Washington, as in London, some slight adaptations to the refinements of modern society." Meditation upon this topic recalls to the Dean an anecdote. It seems that, "many years ago the 'Guards' quartered in Dublin, gave a ball which created a great sensation. Mothers came with their fair daughters from remote parts of the country in which the serene elegance and severe etiquette of the élite were altogether unknown, and, during one of the dances, a mamma was seen to approach her daughter, and was heard to say: 'Jump, Judy, jump; the Guards are looking at yer.'"

IV.

From a chapter about "universities and colleges," we learn that, of all the educational institutions which our ecclesiastical tourists saw in the United States, Princeton seemed to him "by far the most picturesque, with its massive, beautiful buildings, not crowded together, but with ample surroundings, in a fair ground or 'campus,' with grass and trees, and a pleasant view of the country beyond, like the university in Tennyson's 'Princess,' half garden and half town." In New Haven a friend met him at the station, and took him in his carriage "to see the university of Yale, the campus, with its grand old elms and spacious buildings, the dormitories (large blocks in which the students have apartments, not only for the night, but for the day, two of them sharing the same sitting room), the libraries, lecture rooms, and the Peabody Museum. We went through the art studios containing statues, busts, and carvings in wood (including three huge confessionals from Ghent preposterously out of place), and the picture galleries, in which were some excellent portraits of Washington and his Generals by Trumbull, and then the captain of the football team showed us the largest and most complete gymnasium which I have seen." While in Boston, although his stay in that town was but short, Dean Hole found time to cross Charles River, and to make a brief survey of Harvard College. "It is," he observes, "a pleasant, peaceful place, and there is a quiet dignity about its solid, spacious buildings which indicate their intention—work. In the spring, when the trees and the grass in the yard are green, the contrast between the old red brick walls and the new verdure, the sunshine, and the shade, must be delightful, and 'fair Harvard' can never be forgotten by those who have found a home within her walls." One perceives with regret that Cambridge aroused in the visitor the *odium theologicum* which had not been excited at Princeton or New Haven. With amusing severity he remarks that "Harvard has not been faithful to her original dedication, *Christo et Ecclesiæ*. It has, on the contrary, been desecrated by the heresy most repulsive to the Christian faith, by that subtle form of Antichrist, the foe who pretends to be a friend, Unitarianism. It is no longer predominant, but it is largely represented." On this point it is sufficient to rejoin that, for some time, Unitarians have been admissible to the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

To sum up, the reader of these notes of travel will discover that Dean Hole has never in his weakest moment imagined himself to be a great man, and has no desire to be taken for one. He is simply a good-natured person, possessed of an average university education, and decidedly more free from prejudice than the ordinary Englishman, for which reason he is qualified to see rather more and to give a somewhat more accurate report. If he had a good time and carried home a little money for repairs on the Rochester Cathedral, we do not know that anybody need object. But, really, these voyages of discovery on the part of middle-class foreigners are becoming a trifle superfluous.

History Surveyed from a New Viewpoint.

It is a remarkable essay which Mr. Brooks Adams has written under the name of *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (Macmillan). It is remarkable alike for its researches and its deductions, and, while, perhaps, few men will accept all of the author's conclusions, none will fail to be impressed by some of them. It is not needful to assent to his ultimate assertion that the adoption of the single gold standard is fatal to the prosperity of a community, in order to appreciate the singular acumen of his comments on certain critical conjunctures in the story of the past. What he has done is to examine from the viewpoint of political economy the rise and fall of the Romans, the earlier middle ages, the first two crusades and the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, the suppression of the Order of the Templars, the English Reformation, and the suppression of the convents, the eviction of the yeomen in England, and the relations of Spain and India to eighteenth century civilization. It is only in the final chapter, devoted to modern centralization, in which the expressions of opinion occur, to which exception will generally be taken. Up to this point the author's essay is surprisingly full of penetration and illumination, and we do not hesitate to say that, in respect of knowledge and of insight, it deserves to rank in the class which is headed by the works of Montesquieu.

I.

Before giving some striking examples of the merit of this book, considered as a new experiment in the philosophy of history, we ought, at least, to indicate the law of civilization and decay which the author believes himself to have established. The theory which Mr. Adams has undertaken to work out and test by applying it to the successive facts of history, is based upon the accepted scientific principle that the law of force and energy is of universal application in nature, and that animal life is one of the outlets through which solar energy is dissipated. Starting from this fundamental proposition, the first deduction is that, as human societies are forms of animal life, the societies must differ among themselves in energy, in proportion as nature has endowed them more or less abundantly with energetic material. Thought is one of the manifestations of human energy, and, among the earlier and simpler phases of thought, two stand conspicuous, fear and greed. Fear, which by stimulating the imagination, creates a belief in an invisible world, and ultimately develops a priesthood; and greed, which dissipates energy in war and trade. Beginning with these premises, the author proceeds to submit that probably the velocity of the social movement of any community is proportionate to its energy and mass, and its centralization is proportionate to its velocity; therefore, as human movement is accelerated, society is centralized. In the earlier stages of concentration fear appears to be the channel through which energy finds the readiest outlet; accordingly, in primitive and scattered communities, the imagination is vivid, and the mental types produced are religious, military, artistic. As consolidation advances, fear yields to greed, and the economic organism supersedes the emotional and martial.

Whenever a race is so richly endowed with the energetic material that it does not expend all its energy in the daily struggle for life, the surplus may be stored in the shape of wealth; and this stock of stored energy may be transferred from community to community, either by conquest or by superiority in economic competition. However large may be the store of energy accumulated by conquest, a race must, sooner or later, reach the limit of its martial energy, when it must enter on the phase of economic competition. But, as the economic organism radically differs from the emotional and martial, the effect of economic competition has been, perhaps invariably, to dissipate the energy amassed by war. When it so happens that surplus energy has accumulated in such bulk as to preponderate over productive energy, it becomes the controlling social force. Thenceforward capital is autocratic, and energy vents itself through those organisms best fitted to give expression to the power of capital. In this last stage of consolidation the economic, and perhaps the scientific, intellect is propagated, while the imagination fades and the emotional, the martial, and the artistic types of manhood decay. The author adds that eventually societies appear to attain a velocity at which they are unable to make good the waste, and, in his judgment, the evidence points to the conclusion that, when a highly centralized society disintegrates under the pressure of economic competition, it is because the energy of the race has been exhausted.

II.

Such is Mr. Adams's theory. Now let us look at some of the historical phenomena, which at once suggested the hypothesis, and are marshalled in support of it. Can anybody tell us anything new about the Romans? Perhaps not, but old things may be presented in a new and instructive light. For instance, the author of this essay points out that toward the middle of the third century Italy had lost the treasures she had won in war, which had gradually gravitated to the centre of exchanges. The movements of Diocletian demonstrate that after 250 A. D. Rome ceased to be either the political or commercial capital of the world. That Diocletian was not impelled merely by a personal preference in establishing himself at Nicomedia on the Propontis is evident, since his successors imitated his policy; he and those who followed him only yielded to the same resistless force which fixed the economic capital of the world upon the Bosporus. In other words, very soon after the insolvency of the Government at Rome, an insolvency proved by the repudiation of the denarius in 222 A. D., the administration quitted the city and moved toward the boundary of Europe and Asia. There, after some forty years of vacillation, it settled permanently at the true seat of exchanges, and Constantinople remained the economic centre of the earth for more than eight centuries. The bankrupt Roman Empire in the West was to end far earlier, and its economic history is summed up in a few sentences. From the time of the Servian constitution downward the change in the army had kept pace with the acceleration of movement which caused the economic competition that centralized the State. Rome owed her triumphs over Pyrrhus and Hannibal to the valor of her infantry rather than to the genius of her Generals; but from the time of Marius the census ceased to be the basis of recruitment, and the rich refused to serve in the ranks. This was equivalent in itself to a social revolution, for from the moment when the wealthy succeeded in withdrawing themselves from service, and the poor saw in it a trade, the citizen ceased to be a soldier, and the soldier became a mercenary. From that time the army could be used for all purposes, provided that they could count on their pay and their booty. The administration of Augustus organized the permanent police which replaced the mercenaries of the civil wars, and this machine was the greatest triumph and the crowning glory of capital. A body of wage earners drawn from the ends of the earth was made cohesive by money. For more than four hundred years this corps of hirelings crushed revolt within the empire, and regulated the injection of fresh blood from without, with perfect promptitude and precision; nor did it fail in its functions while the money which vitalized it lasted.

The weakness of the moneyed class at Rome lay in this, that its members not only killed the producers, but in the strength of their acquisitiveness, failed to propagate themselves. As early as the reign of Augustus, all but fifty of the Patrician houses had become extinct. With the Italian peasantry the case was worse. By the beginning of the second century of our era, barbarian labor had to be imported to till the fields of Italy, and even the barbarians lacked the tenacity of life necessary to endure the strain. They ceased to breed, and the population dwindled. Then, somewhat suddenly, the collapse came. With shrinking numbers the sources of wealth ran dry. The revenue failed to pay the police, and on the efficiency of the police the life of the unwarlike civilization hung. A time came when the suction of the usurers had so wasted the life of the community that the stream of bullion ceased to flow from the capital to the frontiers; then, as the sustaining force failed, the line of troops along the Danube and the Rhine was drawn out more and more thinly till it broke, and the already semi-civilized barbarians poured in unchecked. The so-called invasions, however, were not conquests, for they were not necessarily hostile; they were only the logical outcome of a process which had been going on since Trajan. All that happened was this, that when the power to control the German emigration decayed, the emigration flowed freely into the provinces. By the year 400 disintegration was far advanced, and the empire was crumbling, not because it was corrupt or degenerate, but because the most martial and energetic race the world has ever seen had been so utterly exterminated by men of the economic type of mind that petty bands of sorry adventurers might rove whither they would on what had once been Roman soil without meeting an enemy capable of facing them, save other adventurers like themselves. It was Goths, not Romans, who defeated Atilla at Chalons.

III.

We pass over those portions of this book which deal with the earlier middle ages, the first and second crusades, and the fall of Constantinople, though the reader will find them replete with information and suggestion of no commonplace kind, and turn to the chapter on the suppression of the Templars, because it contains a concise summary of the economic phenomena which had marked the history of France between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. In the ninth century the trend toward decentralization was resistless. Although several of the descendants of Charlemagne were men of ability and energy, the defence was so superior to the attack that they could not coerce their vassals, and their domains melted into independent sovereignties until the crown became elective, and the monarchy almost a tradition. During the tenth century it seems possible that the regal authority might have been obliterated even to the last trace had it not been for the Church, which was in sore need of a champion. The priesthood, indeed, cared nothing for the legitimate line; what they sought was a protector, and, accordingly, they chose, not the descendant of Charlemagne, but Hugh Capet, because he was the best chief of police in France. Even under Hugh's successors, however, and, until the stimulus given to centralization by the Crusades was felt, subinfeudation went on uninterruptedly; the Capetians were as unable to stem the current as the Carlovingians before them. So that, by the middle of the eleventh century, the royal domain had become almost as much dismembered as the Kingdom of Lothaire had been a century earlier. Up to the Council of Clermont the Kings of France fought a losing battle, and, without the material resources of the Church, they would have been overpowered by the minor nobles within their own domain. Even singly such men were almost a match for both Church and Crown; but, when joined in a league, especially if allied to one of the great outside feudatories, such as the Duke of Normandy, they were sure of victory. The immediate effect of the Crusades was to carry numbers of these petty princes to Palestine, where they were often killed or ruined. As their power of resistance weakened, the Crown gained, and eventually the Capetian Kings reconquered their original domain, after which the absorption of the domains of the great vassals was only a question of time. It is pointed out, however, by Mr. Adams, that the destruction of the local nobility in Syria was the least important part of the social revolution wrought in France proper by the Crusades, for, though the power of the barons might thus have been temporarily broken, it could never have been reduced to impotence, unless wealth had grown equal to organizing an overwhelming attack. The accumulation of wealth followed the opening of the trade with the East, and its first effect was to cause the incorporation of the communes. Prior to 1095 but one town is known to have been chartered, whereas, within a quarter of a century afterward, free boroughs had sprung up on every side. The communal movement had nothing about it necessarily either liberal or democratic. The incorporated borough was merely an instrument of trade, and at a certain moment became practically independent, because for a short period traders organized locally before they could amalgamate into centralized communities with a revenue sufficient to pay a police capable of coercing individuals. By the end of a century the tradesmen themselves had come to recognize their limitations, and in the reign of Philip Augustus brought about the substitution by the privileged corporations of money payments for personal services. The basis of the secular society of the early middle ages had been individual physical force. With the spread of the mercantile type, however, a change began, the transmutation of physical force into money; and this process went on until individual strength or courage ceased to have importance among the burgesses. The smaller secular nobility who could sell their services as policemen to the King, benefited by the eagerness of the tradesmen to commute personal military service into a tax. To the Church, on the contrary, the rise of the mercantile class was pure loss, not only because it prompted their vassals to seek better protection than ecclesiastics could give, but because the propagation of the materialistic mind bred heresy. Wherever developed, the mercantile intellect had always the same characteristic; it was unimaginative, and being unimaginative, it doubted the utility of churchmen's masses. Accordingly, all commercial communities have rebelled against paying for miracles, and in the thirteenth century skepticism was already widely spread among the manufacturing towns. The clergy retaliated with frightful ferocity. As heresy followed in the wake of trade, the inquisition followed in the wake of heresy, and the beginning of the century just named witnessed simultaneously the prosperity of the mercantile class and the organization of the Holy Office.

From the time when the economic type had multiplied sufficiently to hire a police, the strength of the State came to depend on its revenues, and financiers grew to be the controlling element of civilization. Before the Crusades the high offices of the kingdom of France, such as the office of seneschal, were not only held by nobles, but tended to become hereditary in certain warlike families. After the rise of the trade with the East, the royal council was captured by the bourgeoisie. Jacques Cœur is cited as a striking specimen of the class which ruled in the fifteenth century. Of this class the lawyers were the spokesmen, and men like Flotte and Nogaret, the Chancellors of Philip the Fair, expressed the notion of centralization as perfectly as the jurists of ancient Rome. Even from the outset of the reign of St. Louis (1226) the Privy Council had steadily gained in consequence. The permanent civil service, of which it was the core, served as a school for Judges, clerks, seneschals, and all the judicial and executive officers. At first the administration retained a strong clerical tinge, probably because a generation elapsed before laymen could be equally well trained for the work. But, after the accession of Philip the Fair, toward the end of the thirteenth century, the laymen decisively predominated, and, when they predominated, the plunder of the Church began. It began, as we know, with the suppression of the Order of the Temple, the murder of its leaders, and the confiscation of its property.

IV.

It is solely to economic causes that the author of this book attributes the English Reformation under Henry VIII. He reminds us that, more than 500 years before, when society throughout western Europe hung on the brink of dissolution, the Church had propped centralization by electing Hugh Capet King of France, and that, a century later, the armed pilgrimages to Palestine had accelerated the social movement and consolidation again began. Generation by generation, the rapidity of movement had increased, communication had been reëstablished between the East and West, the mariner's compass and gunpowder had been introduced into Europe, the attack had mastered the defence, and as the forms of competition slowly changed, capital had accumulated until, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, wealth reached the point in England where it could lay the foundation of a paid police, the crowning triumph of the moneyed class. The Reformation is described as the victory of this class over the archaic type of man; and, with the Reformation, the old imaginative civilization passed away; but, with all its power, the moneyed intellect has certain weaknesses, and neither in ancient Rome nor modern England have capitalists been soldiers. The Tudor aristocracy was not a martial class. Lacking physical force, this new nobility feared the ancient farming population whom they slowly exterminated; and they feared them with reason, for from among the yeomanry Cromwell was to draw his Ironsides. Therefore one of the chief preoccupations of the Tudor nobility was to devise means to hold this dangerous element in check, and, as it could not organize an army, it utilized the Church. The landowners had other purposes for the priesthood than simply to rob it; they had also to enslave it, and the title of Henry VIII. to greatness lies in his having attained both ends. He not only plundered as no other man has plundered, but he succeeded in assuming the functions of God's high priest and becoming Christ's vicar upon earth.

In a chapter on the eviction of the yeomen Mr. Adams compares England during the middle ages with primitive Rome, in this particular: that both communities had an unusually homogeneous population of farmers, who formed a remarkable infantry. Not that the cavalry was defective, but, although the English knights were a martial body, there is nothing to show that, on the whole, they surpassed the French. It was the English infantry that won Crécy and Poitiers and Agincourt, and this infantry, which was long the terror of Europe, was recruited from among the small farmers who flourished in Great Britain until they were exterminated by the advance of civilization. As long as the individual could at all withstand the attacks of the centralized mass of society, England remained a hotbed for breeding this species of man. By degrees, however, the pressure of the intensifying centralization applied during the sixteenth century split the old homogeneous population of England into classes gradnated according to their economic capacity. Those without the necessary instinct for gain sank into agricultural day laborers, whose lot, on the whole, has, according to our author, probably been somewhat worse than that of ordinary slaves. The men gifted with the economic intellect, like the Howards, the Dudleys, the Cecils, and the Boleyns, rose to be rich nobles and masters of the State. Between the two accumulated a mass of bold and needy adventurers, who were destined finally, not only to dominate England, but to shape the destinies of the world. One section of these, the shrewder and less venturesome, gravitated to the towns and grew rich as merchants, like the founder of the Osborn family, whose descendant became Duke of Leeds; or like the celebrated Josiah Child, who, in the reign of William III., controlled the whole Eastern trade of the kingdom. The less astute and the more martial took to the sea, and as slavers, pirates, and conquerors built up England's colonial empire and established her maritime supremacy. Of this class were Drake and Hawkins, Raleigh, Blake, and Clive. For the soldier or the adventurer there was no opening in England after the battle of Flodden. An unwarlike and inert bourgeoisie more and more supplanted the ancient martial barons; their representatives shrank from campaigns upon the Continent; and, therefore, for the evicted farmer there was nothing but the far-off continents of America and Asia. The lives of the Admirals tell the tale on every page. A profound gulf separated these adventurers from the landed capitalists, for they were of an extremely bellicose type, a type hated and feared by the nobility. Recalling the fact that, with the exception of the years of the Commonwealth, the landlords controlled England from the Reformation to the revolution of 1688, a period of one hundred and fifty years, Mr Adams does not hesitate to assert that during that long interval the aristocracy did not produce a single soldier or sailor of more than average capacity. The difference between the Royal and the Parliamentary armies in the civil war was as great as though they had been recruited from different races. Charles had not a single officer of merit, while it is doubtful if any force has ever been better led than the troops organized by Cromwell. Men like Drake, Blake, and Cromwell were among the most terrible warriors of the world, and they were distrusted and feared by a landed and moneyed oligarchy which felt instinctively its inferiority in arms. Therefore, in Elizabeth's reign, politicians, like the Cecils, took care that the great seamen should have no voice in public affairs; and, though these men defeated the Armada, and though England owed more to them than to all the rest of her population put together, not one of them reached the peerage or was treated with confidence and esteem.

V.

Very caustic are the comments made by Mr. Adams on the usage to which the Anglican clergy were put by the landed magnates in Tudor and Stuart times. It is pointed out that the Tudor aristocracy were rich, phlegmatic, and unimaginative men in whom the other faculties were subordinated to acquisition. The men who formed this oligarchy were of totally different type from anything which had flourished in England in the imaginative age. Unwarlike, for their insular position made it possible for them to survive without the martial authority, they always shrank from arms. Nor were they numerous enough nor strong enough to overawe the nation even in quiet times. What they needed was a moral instrument of repression, and, accordingly, they treated their religion as a financial investment. Strictly speaking, the Church of England never had a faith in Tudor times, but vibrated between the orthodoxy of the "Six Articles" and the Calvinism of the "Lambeth Articles" according to the exigencies of real estate. Within a single generation, the relation that Christ's flesh and blood bore to the bread and wine was changed five times by royal proclamation or act of Parliament. But if creeds were alike to the new economic aristocracy, it is well understood the value of the pulpit as a branch of the police of the kingdom, and from the outset it used the clergy as part of the secular administration. On this point Cranmer was explicit. Elizabeth probably represented the landed gentry more perfectly than any other sovereign, and she told her Bishops plainly that she cared little for doctrines, but wanted clerks to keep order. It was with a rod of iron that Elizabeth ruled her clergy. No priest was allowed to marry without the approbation of two Justices of the Peace, besides the Bishop. When the dean of St. Paul's offended the Queen in a sermon, she told him "to retire from that ungodly digression and return to his text"; and Archbishop Grindall was suspended for disobedience to her orders. The correspondence of the Elizabethan Bishops is filled with accounts of their thraldom.

Had the great landlords been either politically stronger, so as to have controlled the House of Commons, or more military, so as to have suppressed it, English ecclesiastical development would have been different. As it was, a knot of ruling families, gorged with plunder, lay between the Catholics on the one hand and the more fortunate of the evicted yeomen, who had made money by trade, and who hated and competed with them, on the other. Puritans as well as Catholics sought to unsettle titles to Church lands. Thus beset, the landed capitalists struggled hard to maintain themselves, and, as their best defence, they organized a body of priests to preach and teach the divine right of primogeniture which became the distinctive dogma of this national Church. Such, at least, was the opinion of the non-jurors who have always ranked among the most orthodox of the Anglican clergy, and who certainly were the only ones who, in the last half of the seventeenth century, had the constancy to suffer for their faith. An extraordinary transformation of the ecclesiastical position had thus taken place in England. In the twelfth century the sovereign had drawn his supernatural qualities from his consecration by the priesthood; in the seventeenth century money had already come to represent a force so predominant that the process had become reversed and the priesthood attributed its prerogative to speak in the name of the Deity to the interposition of the King. This was the substance of the Reformation in England. Cranmer taught that God committed to Christian princes "the whole cure of their subjects as well concerning the administration of God's word as of things political;" therefore, Bishops, parsons, and vicars were ministers of the temporal ruler, to whom he confided the ecclesiastical office precisely as he confided the enforcement of order to a Chief of Police. As a part, indeed, of the secular administration, the main function of the Anglican priesthood under the Tudors and the Stuarts was to preach obedience to their patrons. In no other department of public affairs did the landed gentry show particular energy or ability. Their army was ineffective, their navy unequal to its work, their finances indifferently handled, yet, down to the time of their overthrow in 1688, they were eminently successful in ecclesiastical organization. They chose their instruments with precision, and an oligarchy has seldom been more adroitly served. Macaulay was a practical politician, and Macaulay rated the clergy as the chief political power under Charles II. The work to be done by the Tudor and Stuart hierarchy was, in the strictest sense, mercenary, and not imaginative. Therefore, pastors had to be chosen who could be trusted to labor faithfully for wages. Even here, however, the landlords obeyed the economic instinct and made sharp bargains; Elizabeth bluntly told her Bishops that they must get her sober, respectable preachers, but men who should be cheap. In fine, the Anglican clergy under the Tudors and Stuarts were not so much priests in the sense of the twelfth century as hired political retainers. Touching this point Mr. Adams reproduces a part of Macaulay's celebrated description: "For one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. The coarse and ignorant squire could hire a young Levite for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year. This clergyman might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls and in rainy weather for shuffleboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses."

VI.

In the chapter on Spain and India, which is one of the strongest in the book, Mr. Adams describes the tremendous effect produced upon British industry through the inflow of treasure resulting from the conquest of a large part of the Mogul Empire. As long as the aristocracy created in Tudor times had ruled, Great Britain had afforded small comfort for men like Drake and Hawkins, Raleigh and John Smith. That aristocracy had genius neither for adventure nor for war, and few Western nations have had a sorrier military history than had England under the Stuarts. Yet, beneath the inert mass of the landed oligarchy, seethed an energy which was to recentralize the world; and, when capital had accumulated to a certain point, the men who gave it an outlet laid their grasp upon the State. In 1688, the commercial adventurers conquered the kingdom. The change was radical; at once social, political, and religious. The stronghold of the Tories had been the royal prerogative. The victors lodged the powers of the Crown in a committee chosen by the House of Commons. The dogma of divine rights immediately vanished, and with it all that distinguished Anglicanism. Though perverted by the Tudors, this great tenet of the Church of Henry VIII. had been at least a survival of an imaginative age; and, when the merchants swept it away, all trace of idealism departed. Thenceforward English civilization became a purely materialistic phenomenon. The truth is that, in 1688, when the momentum of England suddenly increased, the change was equivalent to the conquest of the island by a new race. Among the family of European nations, Great Britain rose as no people had risen since the Punic wars. Almost instantly she entered on a career of conquest unparalleled in modern history. Of the hundred and twenty-five years between the Boyne and Waterloo, she passed some seventy in waging ferocious contests, from which she emerged victorious on land and sea, the mistress of a mighty empire, the owner of incalculable wealth and the centre of the world's exchanges.

Let us glance for a moment at the enormous, yet seldom appreciated, service rendered to his country by Clive in India. The preliminary point to be regarded is that, although through the issuing of bank notes a certain degree of relief had been secured from the previous depression, and although prices had risen slowly in England throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, a fundamental difficulty remained. There was insufficient silver for export to the East, the exchanges for that part of the world were adverse, and that stock of coined money was lacking which is the form in which force clothes itself in highly centralized communities. How England finally supplied her needs constitutes one of the most dramatic pages of history, and it is recited in the book before us.

After quoting from Jevons the observation that Asia is "the great reservoir and sink of the precious metals," our author goes on to remind us that from time immemorial the Oriental custom has been to hoard, and from the Mogul blazing with the diamonds of Golconda to the peasant starving on his wretched pittance, every Hindoo has a treasure stored away against a day of trouble. Year by year since Pizarro had murdered the Inca Atahualpa for his gold, a stream of bullion had been flowing from America to Europe, and from Europe to the East; there it had vanished as completely as though once more buried in the bowels of the mines. These hoards, the savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London as the Romans had taken the spoil of Greece and Pontus to Italy. What the value of the treasure was no man can estimate, but it must have been millions upon millions of pounds sterling, a vast sum in proportion to the stock of the precious metals then owned by Europeans. To convey some faint idea of the booty of the conqueror, Mr. Adams quotes Macaulay's description of the first visit of an English soldier to an Oriental treasure chamber: "As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants, with which, before any European ships had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venitians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself." The lives of few men are better known than those of Clive and Hastings, yet there are few whose influence upon the fate of mankind has had such scant recognition. The author of this book deems it just to say that the destiny of Europe hinged upon the conquest of Bengal.

VII.

Very soon after the battle of Plassey the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all authorities agree that the "industrial revolution," the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent times, began with the year 1760. Prior to that year, according to Baines, the machinery used to spin cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as that used in India; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. At that time four-fifths of the iron used in the kingdom came from Sweden. Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny; in 1779 Crompton contrived the mule; in 1785 Cartwright patented the power loom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralizing energy. It is, perhaps, the most pregnant of the many pregnant reflections in this book that, though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the times, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded but in motion. Thus printing had been known for ages in China before it came to Europe; the Romans probably were acquainted with gunpowder: revolvers and breech-loading cannon existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and steam had been experimented upon long before the birth of Watt. The least part of Watt's labor lay in conceiving his idea; he consumed his life in marketing it. Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed, and had Watt lived fifty years earlier he and his invention must have perished together. Considering the difficulties under which Matthew Boulton, the ablest and most energetic manufacturer of his time, nearly succumbed, Mr. Adams denies the possibility of doubt that, without Boulton's works at Birmingham, Watt's engine could not have been produced, and yet before 1760 such works could not have been organized. To the capitalist, then, rather than to the inventor, civilization owes the steam engine as a part of daily life, and Matthew Boulton was one of the most remarkable of the race of producers whose reign lasted down to Waterloo. The factory system was the child of the "industrial revolution," and it is obvious that, until capital had accumulated in masses capable of giving solidity to large bodies of labor, manufactures were necessarily carried on by scattered individuals who combined their handicraft with agriculture.

Agriculture as well as industry felt the impulsion of the new force. Arthur Young remarked in 1770 that, within ten years, there had been "more experiments, more discoveries, and more general good sense displayed in the walk of agriculture than in a hundred preceding ones." The reason why such a movement should then have occurred seems obvious. After 1760, a complex system of credit sprang up based on a metallic treasure, and those who could borrow had the means at their disposal of importing breeds of cattle and improving tillage, as well as of organizing factories. The effect was to cause rapid centralization. The spread of high farming certainly raised the value of land, but it also made the position of the remnant of the yeomanry untenable and nothing better reveals the magnitude of the social revolution wrought by Plassey than the manner in which the wastes were impounded after the middle of the century. Between 1710 and 1760, only 335,000 acres of the commons were absorbed; between 1760 and 1848, nearly [illegible],000,000 acres. In these eighty years, the yeomanry became extinct. Many of these small farmers migrated to the towns, where the stronger, like the ancestor of Sir Robert Peel, accumulated wealth in industry, while the weaker sank into factory hands. Those who lingered on the land toiled as day laborers.

VIII.

To indicate in one short paragraph the significance of this book, the author sums up the drift of European history during the seven hundred years which preceded the close of the Napoleonic wars. From the Crusades to Waterloo the producers dominated Europe, the money lenders often faring hardly, as is proved by the treatment of the Jews. From the highest to the lowest, all had wares to sell; the farmer his crop, the weaver his cloth, the grocer his goods, and all were interested in maintaining the value of their commodities, relatively to coin, for they lost when selling on a falling market. By degrees, as competition sharpened, after the Reformation, a type was developed which our author would call that of the merchant adventurer, men like Child and Boulton, energetic and audacious. Gradually energy vented itself more and more freely through these merchants, until they became the ruling power in England, their government lasting from 1688 to 1815. At length, they fell through the very brilliancy of their genius. The wealth they had amassed so rapidly accumulated until it prevailed over all other forms of force, and, by so doing, raised another variety of man to power. These last were the modern bankers. With the advent of the bankers a profound change came over civilization, for contraction began. Self-interest had from the outset taught the producers that to prosper they should deal in wares which tended rather to rise than fall in value relatively to coin. The opposite instinct possessed the usurer; he found that he grew rich when money appreciated or when the borrower had to part with more property to pay his debt when it fell due than the cash lent him would have bought on the day the obligation was contracted. Inasmuch as toward the close of the eighteenth century the great hoards of London passed into the possession of men of the latter type, the third and most redoubtable variety of the economic intellect rose to prominence, a variety of which perhaps the most conspicuous example is the family of Rothschild.

M. W. H.